DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 060 825 24 HE 002 977

AUTHOR Baldridge, J. Victor
TITLE Models of University Governance: Bureaucratic, Collegial, and Political.
INSTITUTION Stanford Univ., Calif. School of Education.
SPONS AGENCY Office of Education (DHEW), Washington, D.C.
REPORT NO R-D-Memo-77
BUREAU NO BR-5-0252
PUB DATE Sep 71
CONTRACT OEC-6-10-078
NOTE 19p.

EDRS PRICE MF-$0.65 HC-$3.29
DESCRIPTORS *Decision Making; *Educational Administration; *Governance; *Higher Education; *Policy Formation; Political Influences

ABSTRACT

The fundamental argument of this paper is that sociologists and administration theorists have not yet constructed appropriate intellectual models for analyzing academic administration, and that the lack is hindering research. Two of the dominant models of university governance, the bureaucratic and the collegial, are examined and criticized, and a new political model is offered as an alternative means of understanding the dynamics of policymaking in academic organizations. In summary, the broad outline of the university's political system looks like this: there is a complex social structure that generates conflict; there are many forms of power and pressure that affect the decisionmakers; there is a legislative stage in which these pressures are translated into policy; and there is a policy execution phase that eventually generates feedback with the potential for new conflicts. This political model has now been used in 3 empirical studies at New York University, Portland State College, and Stanford University, and a brief description of these studies is included. (Author/HS)

ED 060825

STANFORD CENTER
FOR RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT
IN TEACHING

Research and Development Memorandum No. 77

MODELS OF UNIVERSITY GOVERNANCE: BUREAUCRATIC, COLLEGIAL, AND POLITICAL

J. Victor Baldridge

School of Education
Stanford University
Stanford, California

September 1971

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
OFFICE OF EDUCATION
THIS DOCUMENT HAS BEEN REPRODUCED EXACTLY AS RECEIVED FROM THE PERSON OR ORGANIZATION ORIGINATING IT. POINTS OF VIEW OR OPINIONS STATED DO NOT NECESSARILY REPRESENT OFFICIAL OFFICE OF EDUCATION POSITION OR POLICY.

Published by the Stanford Center for Research and Development in Teaching, supported in part as a research and development center by funds from the United States Office of Education, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. The opinions expressed in this publication do not necessarily reflect the position or policy of the Office of Education, and no official endorsement by the Office of Education should be inferred. (Contract No. OEC-6-10-078, Project No. 5-0252-0306.)

HE 002 977

Introductory Statement

The Center is concerned with the shortcomings of teaching in American schools: the ineffectiveness of many American teachers in promoting achievement of higher cognitive objectives, in engaging their students in the tasks of school learning, and, especially, in serving the needs of students from low-income areas. Of equal concern is the inadequacy of American schools as environments fostering the teachers' own motivations, skills, and professionalism.

The Center employs the resources of the behavioral sciences--theoretical and methodological--in seeking and applying knowledge basic to achievement of its objectives. Analysis of the Center's problem area has resulted in three programs: Heuristic Teaching, Teaching Students from Low-Income Areas, and the Environment for Teaching. Drawing primarily upon pyschology and sociology, and also upon economics, political science, and anthropology, the Center has formulated integrated programs of research, development, demonstration, and dissemination in these three areas. In the Heuristic Teaching area, the strategy is to develop a model teacher training system integrating components that dependably enhance teaching skill. In the program on Teaching Students from Low-Income Areas, the strategy is to develop materials and procedures for engaging and motivating such students and their teachers. In the program on Environment for Teaching, the strategy is to develop patterns of school organization and teacher evaluation that will help teachers function more professionally, at higher levels of morale and commitment.

Professor Baldridge, in the Environment for Teaching program, is performing a political analysis of educational policy formulation. One of the outcomes of his project is the following paper describing three models for studying university governance. The next stage will be to refine the model and generate propositions that link interest group theory, political attitude research, and tactical considerations in a theory of organizational policy formulation. The political model will be used in field research projects sponsored by the Center.

Contents

	Page
Abstract	iv
The University as a Bureaucracy	2
The University as a Collegium	4
The Development of a Political Model	7
Empirical Research Using the Political Model	14
References	15

Abstract

Intellectual models are shown to be useful for shaping the research of social scientists studying governance issues. Two of the dominant models of university governance, the "bureaucratic" and the "collegial," are examined and criticized, and a new, "political" model is offered as an alternative means of understanding the dynamics of policy making an academic organizations.

MODELS OF UNIVERSITY GOVERNANCE:

BUREAUCRATIC, COLLEGIAL, AND POLITICAL

J. Victor Baldridge
Stanford University

College and university administration has been largely neglected by theorists who study bureaucracies and complex organizations. Although scholars have busily studied a whole range of other organizations, from businesses to the military to government agencies, they have largely overlooked the complex administrative issues that exist on their own campuses. Recent turmoil and conflict have focused attention on the poverty of our understanding of complex social processes on the campus, and more and more organization theorists are beginning to investigate the administration of academic organization.

One of the first steps in analyzing the university's administrative processes is to adopt a basic framework through which to view them. According to Thomas Kuhn (1962), all scientists mentally construct "models" or "paradigms" that reconstruct reality on a miniature scale. The model that a scientist selects is critical to his research, for it greatly influences his choice of problems, his overall theoretical perspective, the research methods that he uses, and the types of evidence that he will accept as valid. This model building may be conscious or unconscious, but in either case, it greatly affects a scientist's view of his world.

The fundamental argument of this paper is that sociologists and administration theorists have not yet constructed appropriate intellectual models for analyzing academic administration, and that the lack is hindering research. In what follows, the two models that have been commonly used to describe university administration will be described, and a new model will be proposed. One of these commonly used models is the "bureaucratic" model; the other is the "collegial" model.

The conclusions in this paper were drawn from an intensive analysis of decision-making processes at New York University, conducted in 1968. A revised version of this publication appears in J. Victor Baldridge, Academic Governance: Research on Institutional Politics and Decision Making. Berkeley, Calif.: McCutchan Publishing Corp., © 1971. The present version is published by arrangement with McCutchan Publishing Corporation.

The University as a Bureaucracy

There can be little question that one of the most influential descriptions of bureaucracies ever developed was Max Weber's (see Bendix, 1962, part 3; Gerth and Mills, 1958, ch. 8; Weber, 1947, part 3). Weber tried to describe the characteristics of bureaucracies that distinguish them from other, less formal types of work organizations, such as tenure, appointment to office, salaries as a rational form of payment, and competency as the basis of promotion. He defined bureaucracies as networks of social groups dedicated to limited goals, organized for maximum efficiency, and regulated according to the principle of "legal-rationality" (rules, regulations, and careful procedures), rather than friendship, loyalty to family, or allegiance to a charismatic leader. He described the bureaucratic structure as hierarchical and tied together by formal chains of command and systems of communication. Most of his ideas are well known and need little elaboration.

It has been claimed by a number of people that university governance can be most fruitfully studied by applying Weber's bureaucratic paradigm. For example, in Bureaucracy in Higher Education, Herbert H. Stroup (1966, ch. 4) points out some characteristics of colleges and universities that fit Weber's discussion of the nature of bureaucracy:

1. Competence is the criterion used for appointment.
2. Officials are appointed, not elected.
3. Salaries are fixed and paid directly by the organization, rather than determined in "free-fee" style.
4. Rank is recognized and respected.
5. The career is exclusive; no other work is done.
6. The style of life is centered around the organization.
7. Security is present in a tenure system.
8. Personal and organizational property are separated.

Stroup is undoubtedly correct that Weber's paradigm can be applied to universities. Henderson (1960, ch. 15) and Anderson (1963, ch. 17) have written of the bureaucratic factors involved in university administration. The question is, to what extent is the bureaucratic paradigm valuable when applied to the universities, and where does it miss the point? Certainly there are many bureaucratic elements in the university. First, the university is a complex organization chartered by the state, like most other bureaucracies. This seemingly innocent fact has major consequences, for the univer-

sity is thus a "corporate person" with public responsibilities. Second, the university has a formal hierarchy, with offices and a set of bylaws that specify the relations among those offices. "Professors," "instructors," and "research assistants" are bureaucratic officers in the same sense as "deans," "chancellors," and "presidents." Third, there are formal channels of communication that must be respected. Fourth, there are definite bureaucratic authority relations, with some officials exercising authority over others, although these relations are often blurred, ambiguous, and shifting. Fifth, there are formal policies and rules that hold the university together and govern much of its work, such as library regulations, budgetary guidelines, and the procedures of the university senate. Finally, there are bureaucratic elements in the "people-processing" activities of the university: record keeping, registration, graduation requirements, and a thousand other routine, day-to-day activities that are designed to help the modern university handle its masses of students. Thus, the university's structure and many of its daily operations suggest that a bureaucratic model is appropriate for studying it.

Moreover, the decision-making processes in universities are often highly bureaucratic, especially when routine decisions are at stake. Any observer of decision-making processes on the campus cannot escape seeing that most decisions are routinely made by officials who have been given the responsibility by the formal administrative structure. The Dean of Admissions has been formally delegated the task of handling admissions and routinely does exactly that; the procedures and requirements for graduation are routinely administered by officials who have been assigned to do that task; the research policies of the university are routinely supervised by officials specified by the rules of the university; financial matters are usually handled by the financial officer of the university. In short, the vast majority of daily decisions in a university are routinely handled in a very bureaucratic fashion. It would be folly to ignore their importance.

On the other hand, there are many ways in which the bureaucratic paradigm falls short of explaining university governance, especially if one is primarily concerned with decision-making processes. First, the bureaucratic model tells us much about "authority," that is, about legitimate, formalized power, but not much about the other types of power--power based on nonlegitimate threats, on the force of mass movements, on expertise, or on appeals to

emotion and sentiment. Weber's paradigm cannot handle nonformal kinds of power and influence. Second, the bureaucratic paradigm explains much about the formal structure but very little about the processes that give it dynamism. A description of the static institutional arrangements may be interesting, but it does little to explain the institution in action. Third, the bureaucratic paradigm deals with the formal structure at any one point in time, but does not explain how the organization changes over time. Finally, the bureaucratic model does not deal extensively with policy formulation. It explains how policies may be carried out in the most efficient fashion after they are set, but says little about the process by which a policy is established in the first place. And it does not deal with political issues, such as the struggles of groups within the university who want to force policy decisions toward their special interests.

The University as a Collegium

Another image of the university is the traditional one of a "collegium," or "community of scholars." This is a rather ambiguous concept. In fact, there seem to be at least three different threads running through this literature: (a) descriptions of a collegial university's management, (b) discussions of the faculty's professional authority, and (c) utopian prescriptions for how the educational process should operate.

Those who describe the practical management of a collegial university argue that a university should not be organized like other bureaucracies, but should allow full participation of all members of the academic community--or at least the faculty--in its management. Such "round table" democratic institutions exist only in a few small liberal arts colleges, but the image persists. According to this concept the "community of scholars" would administer its own affairs, having few dealings with bureaucratic officials. The image of the college or university as a collegium has been the subject of several essays on academic organization (see, for example, Martin, 1967). John Millett (1962, pp. 234-35), one of the foremost proponents of this model, has stated his views quite succinctly:

> I do not believe that the concept of hierarchy is a realistic representation of the interpersonal relationships which exist within a college or university. Nor do I believe that a structure of hierarchy is a desirable prescription for the organization of a college or university....
>
> I would argue that there is another concept of organization just as valuable as a tool of analysis and even more useful as a generalized observation of group and interpersonal behavior. This is the concept of <u>community</u>....
>
> The concept of community presupposes an organization in which functions are differentiated and in which specialization must be brought together, or coordination, if you will, is achieved not through a structure of superordination and subordination of persons and groups but through a <u>dynamic of consensus</u>.

The second thread of the collegial argument has to do with the "professionalization" of the academic community. Talcott Parsons (1947) was one of the first to call attention to the difference between "official competence," derived from one's official place in the bureaucracy, and "technical competence," derived from one's ability to perform a given task. Parsons specifically studied the technical competence of the physician, and others have applied his methods to other professionals who hold authority on the basis of what they know and can do, rather than on the basis of their official positions. The scientist in industry, the military advisor, the expert in government, the physician in the hospital, and the professor in the university are all examples of professionals whose influence is supposed to depend on their knowledge rather than on their formal positions.

The argument for adopting a collegial form of organization is given strong support by the literature on professionalism, which emphasizes the professional's ability to make his own decisions and his need for freedom from organizational restraints. Parsons (1947, p. 60), for example, notes that when professionals are organized in a bureaucracy,

> there are strong tendencies for them to develop a different sort of structure from that characteristic of the administrative hierarchy.... Instead of a rigid hierarchy of status and authority there tends to be what is roughly, in formal status, a company of equals.

The third collegial argument has more to do with the educational process than with the administrative aspects of the university. There is a growing discontent in contemporary society with the depersonalization of life, as

exemplified in the massive university with its thousands of students and its huge bureaucracy. And there is growing concern about the alienation of students. The hundreds of student revolts have been symptoms of a deeply resented chasm between the student and the educational establishment. The discontent and anxiety are well summed up in the now famous sign worn by a Berkeley student: "I am a human being--do not fold, spindle, or multilate."

Many critics of this impersonal, bureaucratized educational system, including students, are calling for a return to the "academic community," with all the accompanying images of personal attention, humane education, and "relevant confrontation with life." Paul Goodman's Community of Scholars (1962) appeals to many of the same images, citing the need for more personal interaction between faculty and students, for more "relevant" courses, and for more educational innovation to bring the student into existential dialogue with the subject matter of his discipline. The number of articles on this subject, in both mass circulation magazines and professional journals, is astonishingly large. Indeed, the collegial, academic community is now widely thought of as one answer to the impersonality and meaninglessness of today's multiversity. Thus conceived, however, the idea of the collegium and the academic community is more a revolutionary ideology and a utopian projection than a description of the real nature of governance at any university.

How can we evaluate the complex set of ideas tied into the collegial model? There are many appealing and persuasive aspects to it: the faculty's professional freedom, consensus and democratic consultation, and more humane education are all legitimate and worthy goals. Few would deny that our universities would be more truly centers of learning if we could somehow implement these objectives. However, there is a misleading simplicity about the argument. Several of the weaknesses of the collegial model should be mentioned.

One is that descriptive and normative enterprises are often confused in the collegial literature. Are the writers saying that the university is a collegium or that it ought to be a collegium? It is frequently obvious that discussions of the collegium are a lament for paradise lost rather than a description of present reality.

Another weakness is that the round table type of decision making is not an accurate description of the processes at many levels in the university. To be sure, at the department level there are many examples of collegial decision making, but at higher levels this does not hold true except in some aspects of the committee system. The proponents of the collegial model may only be proposing it as a desirable goal rather than a present reality. This advocacy may be a good strategy of reform, but it does not help much if our aim is to understand and describe the actual workings of universities.

Finally, the collegial model fails to deal adequately with conflict. When Millett emphasizes the "dynamic of consensus," he fails to see that very often consensus occurs only after prolonged battle, and that many decisions are not consensual at all but are the result of one group's having prevailed over another. The proponents of the collegial model are correct in declaring that simple bureaucratic rule making is not the essence of decision making, but in making this point they take the indefensible position that important decisions are reached primarily by consensus. Neither extreme is correct; ordinarily, decisions are made neither by bureaucratic fiat nor by general agreement. What is needed is a model that can include both consensus factors and bureaucratic processes, and that can also grapple with power plays, conflicts, and the rough-and-tumble politics of a large university.

Both the bureaucratic and the collegial models offer some helpful suggestions about the organizational nature of the university, but at the same time each misses many important features. Certainly it would not be fair to judge them completely bankrupt, for their sensitivity to certain critical issues is quite helpful. Nevertheless, they gloss over many essential aspects of the university's structure and processes. Without abandoning their insights we will try to develop another approach that offers some ideas about otherwise neglected features of academic governance.

The Development of a Political Model

Since both the bureaucratic and the collegial models had serious flaws, a new "political" model of academic governance was developed during an analysis of decision making at New York University in 1968. Interviews were conducted with 93 key members of the university's administration, faculty, and student body, and a mail questionnaire was sent to the entire faculty and and administration. Dozens of decision sessions were observed and coded,

and nearly a hundred written documents were analyzed. This paper reports only some of the general theoretical conclusions from that research. (The bulk of the empirical findings are reported in Baldridge, 1971; a brief summary may be found in Baldridge, 1970.)

When we look at the complex and dynamic processes that explode on the modern campus today, we see neither the rigid, formal aspects of bureaucracy nor the calm, consensus-directed elements of an academic collegium. On the contrary, student riots cripple the campus, professors form unions and strike, administrators defend their traditional positions, and external interest groups and irate governors try to force their will upon colleges and universities. All of these activities can be understood as political acts. They emerge from the complex, fragmented social structure of the university, drawing on the divergent concerns and life styles of hundreds of subcultures. Members of these groups articulate their interests in many different ways, bringing pressure to bear on the decision-making process from any number of angles, using whatever power they have. Power and influence, once articulated, go through a complex process until policies are forged out of the competing claims of multiple groups. This is a dynamic process, a process which clearly indicates that the university is best understood as a "politicized" institution.

Some of the flavor of the political nature of the university can be experienced from some remarks made by a dean at New York University. Toward the end of an interview he said:

> Dean: Do you have an organization chart? O. K. Well you can just throw it away. Forget it, those little boxes are practically useless. Look, if you really want to find out how this university is run you're going to have to understand the tensions, the strains, and the fights that go on between the people. You see, this is a political problem of jockeying between various schools, colleges, departments, and individuals for their place in the sun. Each school, group, and individual pressures for his own goals, and it's a tough counterplay of groups struggling for control. You've really got to understand the "politics" if you want to know how the place works.
>
> Interviewer: Do you realize how often you've used the term "political" or "politics" in the last few minutes? Is that a deliberate choice of words?
>
> Dean: I'll say it is--most deliberate. I think the imagery of politics is very helpful in understanding the operation of this place. Of course, this doesn't necessarily imply "dirty" politics. I simply mean that you've got to understand the political forces--both inside and outside--that are trying to control this place. There are pressures impinging on the officials of the university from all directions, and in a real sense

> the management of this university is a balancing process. It's a task of balancing the demands of various groups against each other and against the university's resources. People often call the university administrators "bureaucrats," implying that they are red-tape specialists, but that is a childishly naive understanding of our role. Sure, there are indeed some lower-level administrators who are paper-pushers and bureaucrats in the old sense of the word, but the men in the critical roles are not bureaucrats, they are politicians struggling to make dreams come true and fighting to balance interest groups off against each other. This place is more like a political jungle, alive and screaming, than a rigid, quiet bureaucracy.

This comment and dozens of similar observations suggested that a study of the political dynamics affecting decision making would help unravel some of the difficulties involved in studying academic administration. The basic assumptions that undergird this political analysis are as follows:

1. Conflict is natural and is to be expected in a dynamic organization. It is not abnormal, nor is it necessarily symptomatic of a breakdown in the university community.
2. The university is fragmented into many power blocs and interest groups, and it is natural that they will try to influence policy so that their values and goals will be given primary consideration.
3. In the university, as in other organizations, small groups of political elites govern most of the major decisions. However, this does not mean that one elite group governs everything, but that the decisions are divided, with different elite groups controlling different decisions.
4. In spite of this control by elites, there is a democratic tendency in the university, just as there is in the larger society. Thus, junior faculty and students are increasingly demanding--and receiving--a voice in the decision councils of the university. Much of the current unrest in the university is symptomatic of this healthy current of democratization and should be promoted rather than suppressed.
5. Formal authority, as prescribed by the bureaucratic system, is severely limited by the political pressure and bargaining power that groups can exert against authorities. Decisions are not simply orders issuing from the bureaucracy, but are compromises negotiated among competing groups. Officials are not free simply to order decisions; instead they have to jockey between interest groups, hoping to build viable compromises among powerful blocs.
6. External interest groups have a great deal of influence on the university. Internal groups do not have the power to make policies in a vacuum.

With these as background assumptions, let us examine the political model more closely. Figure 1 illustrates the model as it was finally developed. It has several stages, all of which have to do with the policy-forming processes. Policy formulation became the focus because major policies commit

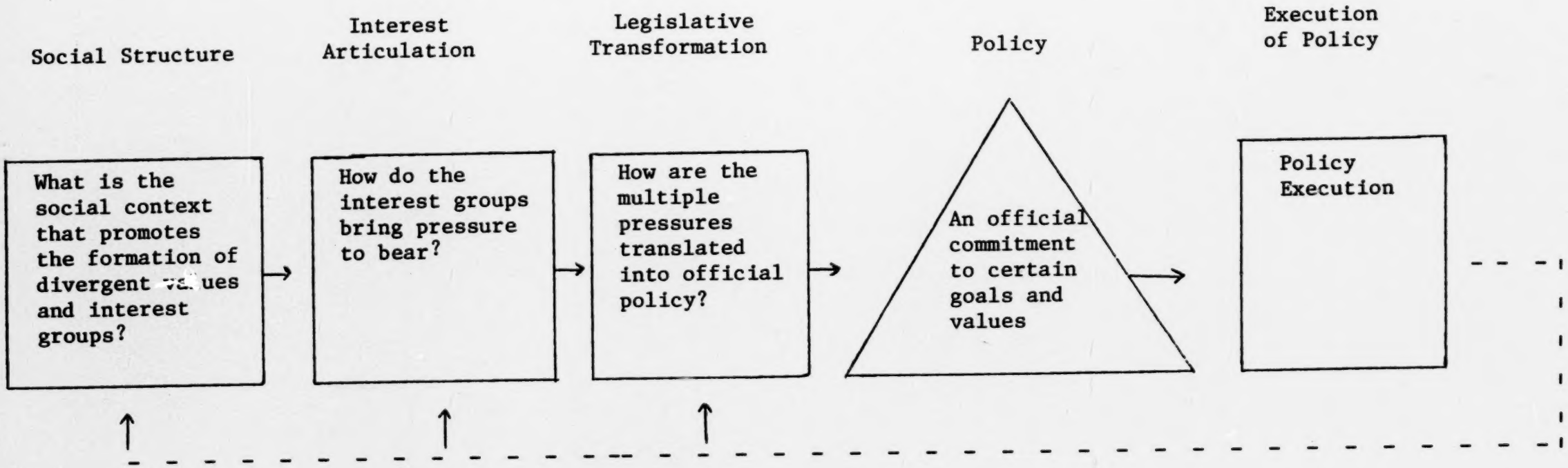
Social Structure
Interest Articulation
Legislative Transformation
Policy
Execution of Policy
What is the social context that promotes the formation of divergent values and interest groups?
How do the interest groups bring pressure to bear?
How are the multiple pressures translated into official policy?
An official commitment to certain goals and values
Policy Execution
Feedback Processes
The generation of new political conflicts

Fig. 1. A simple political model.

the organization to definite goals, set the strategies for reaching those goals, and in general determine the long-range destiny of the organization. In short, policy-making decisions are the "critical" decisions, not the merely "routine." In any practical situation, of course, it is often difficult to distinguish major policies from routine decisions, for issues that seem minor at one point may later prove to have been decisive, or vice versa; but in general, policies may be defined as those decisions that bind the organization to important courses of action.

Since policies are so important, people throughout the organization try to influence them in order to see that their own special values are implemented. Policy becomes a major point of conflict, involving interest groups throughout the university; and for this reason, organization theorists are more interested in it than in other aspects of organizations. Just as the political scientist often selects legislative acts in Congress as the focus of his analysis of the state's political processes, the organization theorist may select policy decisions as the key for studying organizational conflict and change.

The sociologist wants to know how the social structure of the university influences the decision processes, how political pressures are brought to bear on decision makers, how decisions are forged out of the conflict, and how the policies--once set--are implemented. These questions become the five stages of the political model: (a) social structure, (b) interest articulation, (c) legislative transformation, (d) policy outcome, and (e) policy execution. Each of these stages will be examined briefly.

The social structure is a configuration of social groups, which may have basically different life-styles and political interests. Often the differences lead to conflict, since what is in the best interest of one group may be in the worst interest of another. It is important, then, to examine the social setting with its opposing groups, divergent aspirations, and conflicting claims on decision makers. The university has a particularly complex, pluralistic social structure because many groups inside and outside are applying pressure according to their own special interests. Many of the current conflicts on the campus have their roots in the complexity of the academic social structure and in the complex goals and values held by divergent groups.

Interest articulation is the expression of values and goals in a way persuasive enough to obtain favorable action by decision-making bodies. How does a group apply its pressure, what threats or promises can it make, and

how does it translate its desires into political capital? There are many forms of interest articulation at work on the policy makers from every quarter. Attempts at political intervention come from a variety of sources: politicians, alumni, faculty, students, staff, and administrators. All have their wishes staked on their success in this stage of the policy making.

The dynamics by which articulated interests are translated into policies occur in the legislative stage. The legislative bodies respond to pressures, transforming the conflict into politically feasible policy. In the process, many claims are played off against one another, negotiations are undertaken, compromises are forged, and rewards are divided. Committees meet, commissions report, persons with power negotiate the eventual policy. Not only must we identify the types of interest groups and the methods they use to bring pressure, but we must also clarify the negotiation process, through which these pressures become a formal policy.

The policy is the result of the preceding three stages. The articulated interests have gone through conflict and compromise stages, and the final legislative action has been taken. The policy is an authoritative, binding decision to commit the organization to one set of possible alternative actions, to one set of goals and values.

Finally, the execution of policy occurs. The conflict comes to a climax, the battle is at least officially over, and the resulting policy is turned over to the bureaucrats for routine execution. Yesterday's vicious battle has become today's bureaucratic chore. It is possible, even likely, that the matter will not end there, however, for two things are apt to happen: one is that the major losers in the conflict may initiate a new round of interest articulation; the other is that there will be feedback from those whom the policy affects, generating new tensions, new vested interests, and a new cycle of political conflict.

In summary, the broad outline of the university's political system looks like this: there is a complex social structure, which generates conflicts; there are many forms of power and pressure that affect the decision makers; there is a legislative stage in which these pressures are translated into policy; and there is a policy execution phase, which eventually generates feedback with the potential for new conflicts. Figure 2 compares the model for political analysis of university governance with the bureaucratic and the collegial models.

	Political Model	Bureaucratic Model	Collegial Model
Basic Image	Political system	Hierarchical bureaucracy	Professional community
Basic Theoretical Foundations	Conflict theory Interest group theory Open-systems theory Community power theory	Weber's bureaucratic model Classical formal systems model	Human relations approach to organizations Literature on professionalism
Change Processes	Primary concern	Minor concern	Minor concern
Conflict	Viewed as normal; key to analysis of policy influence	Viewed as abnormal; to be controlled by bureaucratic sanctions	Viewed as abnormal; eliminated in a "true community of scholars"
Social Structure	Pluralistic; fractured by subcultures and divergent interest groups	Unitary; integrated by the formal bureaucracy	Unitary; united by the "community of scholars"
Legislative Process (i.e., decision making)	Negotiation, bargaining, and political influence processes	Rationalistic, formal bureaucratic procedures	Shared, collegial decisions
Policy	Emphasis on formulation	Emphasis on execution	Unclear; probably more emphasis on formulation

Fig. 2. A comparison of three models of university governance.

Empirical Research Using the Political Model

This political model has now been used in several empirical studies. In the 1968 study at New York University, I investigated the nature of the political processes in a number of critical decisions (Baldridge, 1971). NYU, a private university, was in a noncompetitive situation vis-à-vis the local public universities; the crisis required major changes in the composition of the student body, and this critical alteration in the university's social structure prompted a period of intense conflict in which old philosophies were destroyed. The balance of power shifted away from traditional interest groups in the university's schools and colleges and toward the central administration, which was taking the lead in restructuring the university to meet the threat posed by the public universities.

A second empirical investigation using this political model was a study of the elevation of Portland State College to university status (Richardson, 1970). This time the investigation focused more on shifts in the configuration of interested social groups outside Portland State. In addition, the study concentrated on the conflict generated between the rising aspirations of Portland State and the traditional stronghold that the older University of Oregon held. In this case the political dynamics occurred on the boundaries between the institution and its external environment, rather than within. Thus, the utility of the political model was demonstrated for handling external political conflicts as well as the internal activities for which it was originally designed.

In a third study, the political model was used to examine the growth of the April Third Movement, a radical student movement at Stanford University (Stam, 1970). In this case the political framework was refined, and the relationships between political attitudes, objectives, and tactics were shown. This study considerably expanded the theoretical framework of the political model, and demonstrated that further empirical research would lead to a clarification of the theory.

References

Anderson, F. Lester. "The Organizational Character of American Colleges and Universities," in Terry Lunsford, ed., The Study of Academic Administration. Boulder, Colo.: Western Interstate Commission for Higher Education, 1963.

Baldridge, J. Victor. Images of the Future and Organizational Change: The Case of New York University. R&D Memorandum No. 58. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford Center for Research and Development in Teaching, 1970.

Baldridge, J. Victor. Power and Conflict in the University. New York: Wiley, 1971.

Bendix, Reinhard. Max Weber: An Intellectual Portrait. Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday Anchor Books, 1962.

Gerth, Hans, and Mills, C. Wright. From Max Weber. New York: Oxford University Press, 1958.

Goodman, Paul. The Community of Scholars. New York: Random House, 1962.

Henderson, Algo. Policies and Practices in Higher Education. New York: Harper & Row, 1960.

Kuhn, Thomas. The Structure of Scientific Revolutions. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962.

Martin, Warren B. "The University as Community," The Educational Record, 1967 (Fall), 320-26.

Millett, John. The Academic Community. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1962.

Parsons, Talcott. "Introduction," in Max Weber, The Theory of Social and Economic Organization. New York: Free Press, 1947.

Richardson, John. "The Evolution of a University: Case Study of an Organization and Its Environment." Unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, Stanford University, 1970.

Stam, James. Revolution at Stanford: Theory and Research in the Dynamics of Interest Group Conflict. (Ph. D. dissertation, Stanford University, 1970) Ann Arbor, Mich.: University Microfilms No. 71-12996. Revised version issued as Stam, James, and Baldridge, J. Victor, The Dynamics of Conflict on Campus: A Study of the Stanford April Third Movement. Technical Report No. 19. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford Center for Research and Development in Teaching, 1971.

Stroup, Herbert H. Bureaucracy in Higher Education. New York: Free Press, 1966.

Weber, Max. The Theory of Social and Economic Organization, Translated by Talcott Parsons and Algo Henderson. New York: Free Press, 1947.